DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 283 RC 015 794

AUTHOR Ploch, Louis A.
TITLE Recent Inmigration to Maine: The Who and Where of It.
INSTITUTION Maine Univ., Orono. Dept. of Agricultural and Resource Economics.
REPORT NO ARE-369
PUB DATE Oct 84
NOTE 13p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Age; Demography; Educational Attainment; Family Size; *Individual Characteristics; *Migration Patterns; Motivation; Population Education; *Population Trends; Relocation; Rural Population; Trend Analysis; Urban to Rural Migration
IDENTIFIERS *Maine; *Newcomers

ABSTRACT

Analysis of demographic characteristics of 411 recent inmigrants to Maine, as revealed in a random mail-back questionnaire sample of persons who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one during July-December of 1980 or 1983, indicated that trends and relationships noted in previous studies are continuing into the 1980s. Inmigrants tended to be from the Northeast (65%) and particularly New England (35%). They tended to move from large urban areas (counties of 250,000 population or over) and preferred living in Maine's smaller communities. While only 15% of the inmigrants were born in Maine, 42% had lived in the state at one time, 92% had visited Maine at least once, and 28% had owned property in Maine prior to inmigration. One-seventh of the sample was 65 or older, with 71% being under age 50. Average household size was 2.6 persons. Families contained an average of 0.27 preschool children and 0.53 school aged children per household. Young adults were highly educated, with 68% of female and 70% of male respondents attaining at least 1 year of college education. Because their migration to Maine was largely voluntary and quality-of-life oriented, it can be assumed that most inmigrants will attempt to "fit into" Maine life. (NEC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Though only one person is identified as the author of this publication, it and forthcoming publications as well as the series of inmigration to Maine studies on which they are based are, in reality, group efforts. Among those persons and entities to whom specific acknowledgment is more than due are: Ms. Cristanna Cook, a long time and valued colleague who was directly responsible for the computerization of the data. Ms. Cook also has been, over the years, helpful in untold ways including providing a sounding board for ideas, contributing positive suggestions for both the research and its analysis, and providing positive, creative criticism.

Mrs. Joan Bouchard, who handled, in effective fashion, many of the details related to the research projects and their analysis as well as typing the manuscript.

Mrs. Barbara Hermes and Ms. Louise Chamberland, who did the bulk of coding the questionnaires prior to analysis.

Professor George Criner of the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, who has provided analytical insights and who will be involved in the more detailed analyses to follow.

Mr. Richard Sherwood of the Maine State Planning Office for constructive guidance and encouragement.

The Maine State Planning Office, Dr. Richard Barringer, Director, for needed financial support.

The Maine Bureau of Motor Vehicles, for their help in providing, from the public records, lists of inmigrants to Maine.

And, of course, most importantly my profound appreciation to those new Maine residents who provided the information on which this and future publications will be based.

RECENT INMIGRATION TO MAINE
THE WHO AND WHERE OF IT

Louis A. Ploch*

INTRODUCTION

Since 1980 Maine's population is growing at a relatively slow pace. Estimates made by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and/or the State Planning Office confirm this conclusion. In contrast, records of the Maine Bureau of Motor Vehicles indicate that the number of persons moving into Maine in the 1980's approximates the rate for the 1975-1980 period. It was during this era that Maine experienced its greatest rate of population growth since before the Civil War. What are the answers to this seeming inconsistency?

The answers are not easy to uncover. The data which are readily available would seem to indicate that in the early 1980's Maine's population should be growing at about the 1970-1980 rate. In addition to the number of inmigrants remaining more or less constant, the excess of births over deaths in Maine hovers around the 6,000 per year plateau. Both of these conditions existed in the late 1970's.

The answer to why these two conditions do not result in an increased rate of population growth appears to be an increase in the rate of outmigration. This situation appears to be true both for long-time residents (some of them Maine natives) and also for the more recent inmigrants. In respect to the latter conclusion, at least 83 of the 1,632 persons whom we contacted in the spring and summer of 1984 and who had exchanged an out-of-state automobile driver's license for a Maine one in the last half of 1980 or 1983 had moved out of state. Another 234 had moved, left no address, or their forwarding address period of 18 months had expired. It would appear, however, that the majority of outmigrants from Maine are either natives or relatively long-time residents.

If this conclusion is correct, and if the inmigrants to Maine differ demographically (age, education, occupationally) from long-time Maine residents, then it is reasonable to conclude that Maine's demographic composition is changing through the migration process.

A series of studies conducted by the Maine Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Maine at Orono confirms this conclusion. The studies also indicate that not only do the recent inmigrants tend to differ demographically from the resident Maine population, they tend to be somewhat different in terms of social values and orientations as well.

This report will deal primarily with the demographically related data collected through mail-back questionnaires from random samples (proportional to county) of persons who exchanged an out-of-state driver's license for a Maine one in the July-December period of either 1980 or 1983. The response rate (using one mailing and a post card reminder) was approximately 32 percent. If the potential respondents who could not be contacted because they left no forwarding address, or the forwarding time limit had expired or who had moved out of state are not considered, the effective response rate increases to approximately 40 percent.

---

*Professor of Rural Sociology, Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, University of Maine at Orono.

Subsequent reports will focus on the occupational composition of the respondents and on their reasons for moving to Maine and their present attitudes toward Maine and their degree of involvement in Maine life.

When Did They Come?

It is not surprising that the majority (79%) of the respondents report that they moved to Maine in the middle (April through September) six months of the year. And even during this period, the majority arrive from June through September (63% of the total). The beginning and end of this four-month period of maximum migration is very apparent. In May 9 percent of the respondents arrived; in June the figure rose to 17 percent. The situation in the fall is similar: in September 13 percent of the migrants arrived; in October the figure fell to 5 percent. August was the peak month, accounting for 19 percent of the arrivals.

The practical significance of this pattern is largely economic. Movers, particularly families moving relatively long distances, in addition to housing per se, usually have need for a range of goods and services. Craftsmen are employed to refurbish, redecorate, rewire, replumb, or build new living quarters. Furniture and appliances are often purchased. The local hardware and building supply merchants soon become acquainted with the inmigrants. Particularly in some local areas, the inmigration months no doubt serve as a boon to the purveyors of goods and services.

Where Did They Come From?

As in our previous studies (see appended list) the majority (65%) of the inmigrants moved to Maine from a location in the Northeast (Penn., N.J., N.Y., and New England). Of this number, just over a third moved from the three Middle Atlantic states; just under two-thirds came from New England. In addition, 10 percent of the total came from the North Central states (Ohio on the east, Kansas, Nebraska on the west); 16 percent migrated from the South (West Virginia-Maryland to Texas); 9 percent came from the West (Colorado west).

The fact that a considerable majority of the new migrants were living within a day's drive or so of Maine (35% moved from Mass., N.H., Conn.) has several importances. One of these is familiarity. As will be documented in a later publication, those persons living relatively close to Maine are more likely to have relatives and friends in Maine as well as other ties. It is likely that these prior contacts and experiences can and will be factors in their adaptation to their new locations.

Although like every other state, Maine has its own sets of particularities, because it is in the Northeast it shares common cultural, geographic, and climatic patterns with its neighbors. The more or less commonality of these factors which tend to affect adjustment to a new locality probably lead to rather quick adjustment to Maine life by many of the inmigrants. Some of the implications of this assumption will be treated in a forthcoming publication.

Do They Come from Large or Small Places?

Past experience has taught us that many migrants do not know the size of the city, town, or community they previously lived in. Many other migrants report living in a local area for which population data are not available. For those reasons we asked them only in which state and county they had lived. The results are quite revealing.

Although Maine has no county with as many as 250,000 inhabitants, 61 percent of the respondents moved from counties of that size or larger. A total of 45 percent had migrated to Maine from counties having populations of 500,000 or more, a figure often used by demographers to identify "major" metropolitan areas.

The data when analyzed separately for male and female respondents reveal that there is no statistically significant difference by sex in terms of size of former county of residence. In only one size category, 250,000 to 499,999, is there any appreciable difference. Males more than females are somewhat more likely to have migrated from counties of this size.

Overall there are probably many significances in the fact that the inmigrants have, as a group, moved from more urban to less urban locations. As a minimum, they tend to be more experienced in urban life ways than are long-time Maine residents. Because almost all of recent migration to Maine has been by self-election, it is reasonable to assume that the new migrants **really** wanted to come to Maine. Presumably they see Maine as a place which contains the type of community in which they prefer to live, and in many cases, to raise families. If these assumptions are correct, many, if not all, of the migrants will attempt to convert their images of Maine into positive ways of life for themselves and their families. In the long run, such orientations could be of benefit both to the new resident's chosen communities and to Maine as well.

Preferred Size of Town, City?

They Like It Small: If immediate prior residence in counties with relatively large populations (250,000 and over) constitutes "urbanness" then the majority of the sample of inmigrants to Maine appear to be taking part in a more urban to less urban migration movement. Despite (or, perhaps, because of) their urbanness, recent inmigrants tend to prefer Maine's smaller population centers over the larger ones as indicated below.

Distribution, by Size of City/Town, of Inmigrant Respondents and for All Maine Residents (1980)

	Percent	
Size of City, Town	Sample Respondents	Maine Residents
Under 500	3.7	2.8
500- 900	9.9	7.4
1,000- 2,499	21.0	18.2
2,500- 4,999	19.5	17.1
5,000- 9,999	18.3	21.8
10,000-19,999	13.8	14.8
20,000-29,999	3.9	6.0
30,000 and Over	9.9	11.9
Total	100.0	100.0

Although the differences between the preferred locations of the inmigrants and the Maine population are not great, they are consistent. There are higher proportions of inmigrants than total Maine residents included in each of the four smallest size categories. In contrast, the opposite is true for the four largest size categories.

Return of the Native?

One of the best known maxims based on demographic research is that for every stream of migration there is a counterstream (Johnson and Campbell, 1976). Based on this generalization one might be tempted to conclude that a large proportion of recent inmigrants to Maine are persons returning to the state of their birth. The data show otherwise. In each of three studies (based on 1975, 1980, and 1980/1983 samples) no more than one-fifth of the inmigrants were Maine natives. In the current study 15 percent of the respondents were Maine natives. There was no difference by sex in the proportion of returning migrants.

A total of 18 percent of the respondents had spouses who had been born in Maine. Exactly what the significances of relatively few of the respondents and or their spouses being born in Maine are is conjectural. It is apparent, however, that the inmigrants are not simply older persons returning home to live their lives out in relative peace and quiet. This is not to say, however, that the new residents necessarily lack significant Maine connections.

On the contrary, relatively large proportions of the inmigrants do have in Maine what some researchers call "location specific capital" (Williams and McMillan, 1983). Location specific capital can be defined as specific relationships and/or ownership patterns which could be predisposing factors in the decision to locate in a given area. Among the location specific factors for which we have data for our 1980/83 sample are: (a) whether the respondent had previously lived in Maine (birth and/or residence); (b) whether he/she owned property in Maine; (c) whether he/she had visited in Maine; and (d) whether he/she had friends in Maine.

Although just 15 percent of the inmigrants had been born in Maine a total of 42 percent had lived in the state at one time by virtue of either birth or previous inmigration. A much larger proportion (92%) had visited Maine at least once before their recent move to it. In addition to direct personal ties, (friends and relatives) 28 percent of the respondents owned property in Maine prior to their recent inmigration.

The relatively high level of ties which the inmigrants had with Maine prior to their present migration was no doubt a significant factor in the decision to move. Perhaps of equal or greater importance are the consequences of this series of relationships. It is a defensible argument that the inmigrants high level of location specific capital could lead to relatively rapid adjustments to their new communities. Additionally because of their possession of ties to Maine they might be more readily accepted into Maine culture and society than persons who lack these attributes.

Of the four types of location specific capital outlined above, for only one was there a statistically significant difference by sex. A total of 72 percent of the male respondents and 61 percent of the female respondents had friends in Maine

before they moved. A difference this large would occur by chance alone no more than two out of one hundred cases.

Who Makes the Decision?

Moving, particularly for a family is seldom, if ever, a simple process. It is a decision that can affect oneself and his/her family for a lifetime. Social, psychological, and economic factors are all interrelated in the decision to move. This being the case, it is unlikely that the decision to move is made lightly. It is of importance who it is who makes the actual decision for the family to exchange its social, psychological, economic, geographic setting for another one. In the present study respondents were requested to determine, through use of a scale ranging from 0 (no importance) through 4 (high importance), the "importance in the decision to move to Maine" of themselves, spouses, children, relatives, and friends.

The most important decision makers were reported to be the respondents themselves. The respondents spouses were the second most important decision makers. A total of 85 percent of the respondents rated their own importance at the "3" or "4" (level) in the decision to move. There was some variation by the sex of the respondent. While 90 percent of the males rated their decision making importance at the "3" or "4" levels, 81 percent of the female respondents reported this level of importance for themselves.

A somewhat similar but not identical outcome resulted in responses to the question, How important was your spouse in the decision to move to Maine? While 78 percent of the total respondents rated their spouses at the "4" level, 74 percent of the males and 80 percent of the females did so. Apparently there is some deference being paid by females to the male role. Essentially, though there is some difference by sex of respondent, both the male and female in a partnership play important roles in the making of a decision which can have vital family consequences.

The increasing equality patterns in American family life can be observed in the respondents assessments of their children's importance in making the decision to move. Just 24 percent report that their children had no importance in the decision making process. In contrast 44 percent indicate that their children ranked in the "3" or "4" (highest) category. Females (48%) were somewhat more likely than males (38%) to rank their children this high.

Relatives of the respondents were considered to be of some consequence in the moving decision making process. A total of 32 percent of the respondents rated relatives at the "3" or "4" (highest) category. There was no significant difference by sex of respondents in this case.

While the data do not provide direct clues as to the significances of this set of relationships some conclusions can be ventured. The relatively high level of importance of various family members and their relatives in the decision to move to Maine may indicate a fairly high level of family integration, solidarity. If this is actually the case, then it is likely that adjustment to the new location will be a family affair rather than being individually dominated. Similarly although there are some reported differences by the respondent's sex, the dif-

ferences are not great. This lack of difference could also be a positive factor in the adjustment process.

How Large are the Families?

In the late 1960's and early 1970's when it became apparent that a significant rate of inmigration to Maine was occurring, many persons became concerned. There was a fear that some Maine communities would be overwhelmed by hordes of new residents. The new residents would be seeking services which would strain public services -- education, police and fire protection, sewage facilities, garbage collection, road maintenance, etc. Except in a few isolated incidents these fears did not become reality. In fact, the size of the inmigrant families closely approximates that for the state -- 2.7 persons per occupied unit. In the 170 households of the male respondents there are a total of 432 persons, a mean size of 2.5. In the 241 households of the female respondents there are a total of 655 persons, a mean size of 2.7.

The most common actual size of household is two. A total of 36 percent of the male repondent households and 32 percent of the female respondent households contain two persons. Males also predominate slightly in the one-person households -- 25 percent for the male respondents, 23 percent for the female respondents. For males and females combined, 58 percent of the households consist of one or two members. And there are no unusually large families among the study respondents. The largest households consist of six members; there were just seven of them among the 411 respondent households for which we have the necessary information.

In summary, family size does not appear to be an overly important aspect of inmigration to Maine. It should be noted, however, that size of household is not the only important factor related to family composition. Age distribution of the inmigrant households can be of great importance to local communities as is noted below.

Age of Inmigrants

The wave of inmigrants to Maine in the late 1960's and early 1970's was dominated by young persons -- many of them unmarried back-to-the-landers. Although this type of person is no longer typical of inmigrants to Maine, the majority of the recent adult migrants are relatively young. For example, 41 percent of the 1980/1983 sampled respondents were age 20-34 during the spring of 1984. Another 30 percent were from 35 to 49 years of age. Thus, nearly three quarters (71%) of our sample was under 50 years old. In contrast, in 1980 60 percent of the Maine population 20 years of age and older were included in the 20 to 49 bracket. Some of the significances of the migrants being relatively young are noted in the following section.

Age Composition of Inmigrant Households

A presumed fear that the inmigrants would bring with them an abundance of young children has not proven to be the case in any of our three inmigrant studies. In the present research the mean (average) number of preschool children per household is 0.27. Another way of stating this relationship is that there is approximately one preschool child for each four inmigrant households. There was

not a statistically significant difference in the number of preschool children by sex of the respondent.

The number of respondent households with school age children (age 5-17) is also low. There were just 217 children age 5-17 in the 411 families for which we have data. The average number of children 5-17 per household is 0.53. There is some difference in the number of school age children by sex of respondent. In the male respondent households there are 0.47 children age 5-17 per family. In the female respondent families there are 0.55 children age 5-17 per family. The level of significance by the chi square statistic is .0869 not much above the .0500 level which is generally considered the minimal level of statistical significance.

At least on the average, local school districts appear to have little or no need to fear being swamped by the children of inmigrants. On the other hand the high average level of education possessed by adult inmigrants (see below) might indicate that entering school children will come from home environments in which education is valued. Thus, the young child might have a headstart to insure his/her interest in school.

Ages 18-64 are generally considered the normal working years in American society. A high proportion of persons in the 18-64 bracket (often termed the **"productive years"**) relative to those younger and older is usually considered a positive attribute in a given population. The **"productive"** persons can help support those who are not in the working force. There was at least one person in the 18-64 age bracket in 92 percent of the respondent households. The average number of persons per household aged 18-64 was 1.80.

The presumption that a large proportion of the inmigrants are older returnees has proven not to be correct. In 86 percent of the respondent households there are no persons 65 years of age and over. In 7 percent of the households there is one person over 64; in the remaining 7 percent of households there are two elderly persons.

In summary, the inmigrant families tend to be composed mainly of adults, and the adults are primarily young persons. For example, 41 percent of the respondents were under 35, and a total of 71 percent were under age 50. Just 9 percent were 65 and over. These young families have few small children and relatively few elderly people. Thus, their migration to a specific community should not adversely affect local school enrollments nor place undue strains on public services for the elderly. In contrast, they represent a group of relatively young adults most of whom migrated to Maine voluntarily. By virtue of their positive attitudes toward their new communities (a relationship to be explored in a forthcoming publication) and their relatively high educational levels (see below) many of them may become positive community forces.

Retirement and Inmigration

Retirement as it relates to the inmigrant's lives will be examined in some depth in a forthcoming publication. But because retirement is a quasi demographic variable it will be treated briefly here. Early retirement (prior to age 65) has become a fact of life in the United States. Many pension plans as well as Social

Security contain attractive provisions for early retirement. Among those persons taking advantage of this relatively new aspect of the American economy are many people who wish to enjoy living their later years in an environmentally and socially pleasing location. For many urban persons amenity rich states such as Maine provide the kind of ambiance which the retiring, potential migrants are seeking.

Maine is not a "retirement" haven of the magnitude of states such as Florida, North Carolina, Missouri or Arizona. Yet sizeable proportions of the inmigrants report being retired before (13%) and after (18%) moving to Maine. These "young" retirees may well constitute a pool of talent and experience which can serve to enrich many communities, particularly smaller ones.

Inmigrant Educational Attainment

Formal education continues to be an important aspect of American society. Education is often viewed as the key to success in life. Since World War II increasingly large proportions of the population have attended college. Maine has lagged behind in the proportion of its residents who have attended and/or who have been graduated from a college or university. In 1980 17.0 percent of U.S. adults 25 and over had completed four or more years of college. The comparable figure for Maine was 14.4 percent. The recent waves of inmigration to Maine are helping to decrease the gap between Maine and the other states.

The young adults migrating to Maine tend to be highly educated. A total of 25 percent of the respondents report having completed 1 to 3 years of college. An additional 44 percent completed at least four years of college. Not only is the level of education among the inmigrants considerably higher than the Maine norm, it is likely that persons who have college in their background are more likely to encourage (and help financially) their children in attaining education beyond high school.

There is almost no difference between the proportion of females (68%) and males (70%) who have attained at least one year of college education. There is, however, a distinct difference by sex of respondent in relation to whether or not at least a 4-year degree was obtained:

	Percent	
Years of Education	Females	Males
13-15	29	19
16 or more	39	51
Total	68	70

Females were much more likely than males not to have completed a four-year college degree. The data do not contain the direct answer why this difference exists but it is, of course, reflected in the occupational composition of the

inmigrants. Forty-nine percent of the male respondents were, in the spring of 1984, employed in professional and/or managerial occupations in which college education is either required or is normally expected. In contrast, just 27 percent of the female respondents report being employed in this type of occupation. More details of the respondents occupational relationships will be included in a forthcoming publication.

SUMMARY

An analysis of the demographic characteristics of recent inmigrants to Maine indicates that the trends and relationships noted in similar previous studies (see appended list) are continuing into the 1980's. Although there are inmigrants to Maine from all sections of the U.S., they tend to be from the Northeast and particularly New England. They tend to move from large urban areas -- counties of 250,000 population and over. They tend to prefer living in Maine's smaller communities.

Contrary to an assumption which was popular in Maine in the late 1970's when significant inmigration began to occur, the inmigrant population is not heavily weighted by older Maine natives returning home. Less than a fifth of the inmigrant sample were returning Maine natives and just one-seventh of our sample were 65 and over. The majority of the adult inmigrants are aged 30 to 50 and have small families. The average household size is 2.6 persons. These young families contain relatively few children -- an average of 0.27 preschool children (age 0-4), and an average of 0.53 school age children (age 5-17) per household. The young adults are, on the average, highly educated. Sixty-eight percent of the female respondents and 70 percent of the male respondents had attained at least one year of college education.

Because their migration to Maine was largely voluntary and, as will be detailed in a forthcoming publication, primarily quality-of-life oriented it can be assumed that most of the inmigrants will attempt to "fit into" Maine life. The migrants educational/occupational experiences and their generally pro-Maine attitudes could prove to be valuable assets to Maine communities as they adjust to the rapid social and economic changes which are characterizing the 1980's.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

RECENT INMIGRATION TO MAINE
THE WHO AND WHERE OF IT

By

Louis A. Ploch

ARE 369 October 1984

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Louis A. Ploch

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

REFERENCES AND RELATED PUBLICATIONS

Campbell, Rex R. and Daniel M. Johnson

1976 "Propositions on Counterstream Migration." Rural Sociology, 41 (Spring), pp. 127-145.

Ploch, Louis A.

1977 The Reversal In Migration Patterns -- Some Rural Development Consequences. Paper delivered at Annual Meeting, Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Ploch, Louis A.

1977 "The Inmigrants Are Coming." Update, 5:1. LSA Experiment Station, University of Maine at Orono.

Ploch, Louis A.

1977 "The Inmigrants Are Coming, Part II." Update, 6:1. Maine LSA Experiment Station, University of Maine at Orono.

Ploch, Louis A.

1981 "Maine -- One Hundred and Sixty Years of Growth and Change." Update, 9:4. LSA Experiment Station, University of Maine at Orono.

Ploch, Louis A.

1982 Turnaround Migration - A New Rural Society? Paper delivered at Annual Meeting, Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, California.

Williams, James D. and David B. McMillan

1983 "Location-Specific Capital and Destination Selection Among Migrants to Nonmetropolitan Areas." Rural Sociology, 48(3):446-457.